THE

Hindu Message

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from the Hindu Standpoint.

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,
(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,
(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,
(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and
(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

MODERN TOWNS.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A. B.L.,

The modern towns do not inspire the muse.
For cradled in the lap of selfishness,
Unknowing love of God and tenderness
To man, they art and faith alike refuse.
O'er them fall not love's cooking silent dews
Which learning's roses bring in fragrant dress.
Unblest themselves they know not how to bless.
They are all grey in tint, not rich in hues,
Among them by their splendour lifted far
Shine Bombay throne'd on the western sea,
Calcutta India's royal palace hall,
And Madras shining like the morning star.
They kindle oft the poet's ecstacy
And send unto the soul their thrilling call.

Great Thoughts.

Intemperance is a hydra with a hundred heads. She always stalks abroad accompanied with impurity, anger, and the most infamous profligacies.

ॐ

No evil, therefore, can make another man good. If no evil, therefore, can make another man good, how can an evil man make himself good ? Verily, He only can make a good man out of an evil man who is Himself eternally good.

ॐ

What a union for two believers is a Christian marriage—to have one hope, one desire, one course of life, one service of God in common with one another.

ॐ

How great, how delightful, how true shall our knowledge of all things be in heaven ! We shall drink there at the spring-head of God's wisdom without difficulty, and in all felicity !

ॐ

Art thou proud of thy understanding ? It is no proof of understanding to be proud. Nay, by this thou deprivest thyself of every chance of becoming thoughtful.

ॐ

The intent of the heart is denoted by the eye, as it is written—"If thine eye be single thy whole body shall be full of light." For when anything is done with a good intention, the enacting of that intention contracts no soil in the sight of God ; and so when friends are full of words, that is—when the very same persons retract that are joined with us in faith, the eye must needs pour our tears to God.

ॐ

Whosoever does not persecute them that persecute him ; whosoever takes an offence in silence : he who does good because of love ; he who is cheerful under his sufferings—these are the friends of God, and of them the Scripture says, "They shall shine forth like the sun at noontide.

ॐ

Wickedness, by whomsoever committed, is odious, but most of all in men of learning ; for learning is the weapo[n] with which Satan is combated, and when a man is ma[de] a captive with arms in his hand his shame is more excessive.

ॐ

He that is ambitious of fame destroys it. He that increaseth not his knowledge diminishes it. He that uses the crown of learning as an instrument of gain will pass away.

A Garland of Quiet Thoughts.

Events of the Week.

The "Mahratta" thus comments on the proceedings in the Central Legislature re the Premier's speech. It is the same sun that maketh the mud harden and the wax melt. And so the speech which the Prime Minister delivered in the House of Commons on the I.C.S. debate, has affected equally effectively both the Moderates and the Non-co-operators. The Hindu, in whose nostrils the suggestion of the removal of the council-boycott stank so long, was brought round to propose to lift the boycott, if it only be for accepting the challenge thrown by the Premier in his grape-shot speech; and the Moderates were compelled to be im-moderate, or at least un-Moderate, in expressing their apprehension and indignation at the Georgics of the Premier. There was a great excitement in both the legislative chambers on account of the motions regarding the speech. In the upper chamber Prof. Kale's resolution was lost undoubtedly, but his defeat in this case is more glorious than victory. In speaking against the resolution Sir William Vincent poured out all the vials of venom, of which there is almost an inexhaustible mine in him, against Indians and much indirect pressure was brought to bear upon Prof. Kale by some Government members. But the Hon. mover did not withdraw his resolution and fought to the last. We pity these old grey-haired gentlemen who voted gainst Prof. Kale's resolution in the Council of State. Well, in the Assembly a similar resoultion had a different fate. The original resolution of Mr. Agnihotri, though diluted by Mr. Rangachariar's amendment and still further watered down by Mr. Sarvadhikari's amendment, records the opinion of the Assembly and as such has got its own weight. Yet we feel sorry that not a single member of the legislative Assembly got up and shattered the boyish arguments of Mr. Vincent with Vincent's own ferocious vehemence. It is on such occasions that the necessity of having some Nationalists of sterner stuff on the council, is keenly felt. Whatever it be, we take this opportunity of congratulating our councillor-friends who took this bold stand in the legislature against the Government.

***

The 'Mahratta' pertinently observes on the resignation of Mr. B. P. Wadia his membership of the Theosophical Society :—Mr. B. P. Wadia who was one of the select few in the innermost circle of many inner and outer circles in which the Theosophical Society abounds, has severed his connection with Theosophical Society. His letters of resignation to the president and his fellow-theosophists are veritable bomb-shells that have torn asunder the veil that covered many a sin. Mr. Wadia charges the T. S. with being disloyal to theosophy and states that it has strayed away from the original programme and has drifted off to a sand-bank of immorality where it will remain a stranded carcass to moulder and die. Mr. Wadia proceeds to give the whole sham a decent burial and has even supplied an epitaph suited to its last exploits. The Theosophical Society has survived many such revolts till now but it must be said that the bubble has been pricked and there remains nothing but empty void inside. One of its sincerest votary has dealt a deadly blow in its most vital and weakest part and the energetic president and others of the hierarchy will have to bring into requisition their best occult influences to their aid. All the best of the cohesive persuasion, training magnetism and pseudo-religious dogmas will be used to support the tottering edifice. However theosophy must be distinguished from theosophical society and Mr. Wadia has drawn a line between the two. [illegible]ll the good points of the former command and will continue [illegible]mmand respect. The society was brought to this sorry [illegible]s by the exuberant love of its head to boss the whole show and this characteristic alone was responsible for many a sham in both her religious and political movements. We have always held that politics must be kept apart from religious dogmas and the promiscuous admixture of the two always result in explosions most undesirable. This episode in the career of the T. S. has its lessons and all will profit by it.

***

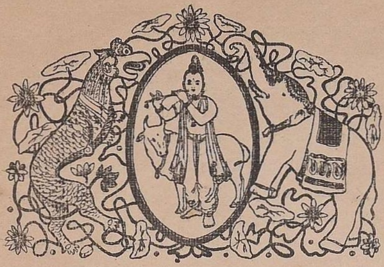
The Hindu remarks:—Commenting on the censure debate in the Assembly, the *Civil and Military Gazette* has the following paragraph to which as a piece of self-revelation even the most anti-English extremist, supposing there were one, can add nothing:

"Pigheadedness and bad manners being ingrained in the mentality of a large number of legislators, it is perhaps hopeless to expect that any appeal to their common sense or their sense of propriety and decency would have much effect."

And yet the wonder is expressed that it is so difficult to enlist the co-operation of Indians in the marring of their country's destinies.

***

The 'Indian Social Reformer' writes:—At the fag end of the Simla session of the Indian legislature, the Government of India have moved in the Legislative Assembly for leave to introduce a Bill making it punishabble with imprisonment for 5 years criticisms of the administrative measures of Indian Chiefs which were calculated to bring them into hatred or contempt. The Legislative Assembly after a short discussion refused, as it has a perfect right to do, the permission asked for. His Exeellency the Viceroy thereupon ordered the same Bill to be introduced in the Council of State under the provision of the Reform Act, which enables him to dispense with the approval of one of the two Chambers to a bill which he certifies to be necessary for the "security of British India." The Council of State, on the very day of its introduction, passed the Bill with a single dissentient. It is not difficult to understand the reasons which prompted the Assembly to deal so summarily with the Government motion. Only a few months ago, a Committee presided over by the Law Member and on which sat also the Home Member of the Government of India, unanimously decided that when the Press Act of 1910 was repealed, no special measure was necessary to protect the Indian Princes from criticisms in the Press. The Indian public and especially the people of the Indian States are seriously apprehensive that any measure hampering the freedom of the Press in dealing with the affairs of Indian States will inevitably have the effect of making the world safe for the autocracy of several of these states; and that the consequence to those states themselves would be disastrous as, in the words of Sir T. Madhav Rao, these states will collapse under their own autocracy. There is also a very general impression that the well-governed states do not desire such protection. The contributor whose article we publish to-day mentions specifically His Highness the Maharaja Sindia of Gwalior. We have heard similar statements regarding the rulers of the other great States. In the face of these facts there is nothing strange in the action of the assembly, though, perhaps, it was not the most prudent course in view of the huge bludgeon in the hands of the Viceroy and the known temperament of the Council of State. The Bill now with the Viceroy's certificate that it is essential for the security of British India will have to lie before Parliament for two months before it becomes law. It is an interesting question what would happen if there is a dissolution of Parliament within the next two months. As regards the merits of the measure, it is not so easy as in British India or in the larger Indian states to distinguish between the administrative and personal affairs of a Chief who is his own Minister and often also his own Chief Justice and his own head of Police. We do not expect this measure to do much good to the Chiefs. It may prove on the other hand even embarassing to them. One of the great Indian Princes was telling this writer not long ago that what he resented was that the Government of India should collect all the things said against Indian Chiefs even in the most obscure papers and ask them sometimes for explanations. This will have to be done more systematically in the future than in the past in order that Government might judge what criticism brings the Chief into hatred and what does not. The best thing that could happen to this law is to remain a dead letter. Meanwhile, what a proof of the growth of constitutional usage under the Reform Act that within two years of its introduction the normal process of legislation should be superseded as it has been!



The Hindu Message

Dharma and Life—XV.

The State and the Principle of Equality.

The Indian Dharma and State, while requiring that the king and his ministers should grant protection to the person and property of all citizens, have never accepted the central and cardinal principle of modern democracy—viz, that all men are equal: that, therefore the state must accept its logical consequence that "every man counts for one, none for more than one": and that "*the will of the greater number shall* prevail, *even if in error, over the will of the most intelligent of minorities.*" On the other hand, our Dharma recognises the essential truth of the doctrine of inequality in its classification of Varnas and functions as the basis of the social and political corporation known as the state. It does not accept the Western idea that the collision of human interests and the crossing of human purposes or activities cannot be avoided and that the individual can be protected by the state against encroachment by others only by admitting the doctrine of equality above enunciated—the doctrine that all men's purposes, interests, and activities are of equal importance and must receive equal recognition and protection, owing to the existence of equal "natural rights" in men. We have already pointed out that, in the ancient Indian State, full recognition was given to the fact that all citizens had freedom to express their voice in their popular meetings and to indicate clearly to the ruler whom they regarded as their fittest representatives and spokesmen in the king's consultative assemblies. But our Dharma denied that all citizens can claim the same *value* for their views on matters of public interest and importance. In modern states all qualified citizens—*i.e.*, all who have votes—are supposed to be entitled to claim *equal value* for their opinion and judgment on public matters and hence all decisions on such matters are decided by counting votes so as to obtain a majority. In casting votes into the ballot-box, there is a recognition of *universal equality*, and it is in accordance, with the will of the majority thus determined that ministers are chosen to carry on public affairs. This is the essence of the ideal of a *modern* democratic state, and was altogether denied and repudiated in the ancient Indian democracy. Nothing can be more mischievous and more opposed to the true moral and social progress of humanity than the modern creed of democracy that any one man is as good as any other in regard to the formation of a judgment on matters of public and social welfare. Nor is it true that in all matters the modern states—even the most democratic of them—act up, *in practice*, to that ideal. For, we have differences in various public and private rights of individuals,—as, for instance, those of the nobility (in England) as contrasted with the commoners those of men as contrasted with women, of capitalists as contrasted with labourers, of adults as contrasted with minors, &c., still, there prevails an idea that "*natural rights*" are the same for all. Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose that in actual practice, the citizens voting at elections in modern states are equally *capable* of judging of the merits of the persons and policies which attain to prominence in public affairs from time to time. We deny—the Indian Dharma has always denied—the sacredness of the doctrine that the voice of the majority must prevail in the determination of the policy or constitution of the state. Nothing can be more absurd and false than the belief on which that doctrine is based, *viz.*, that all men are equal, and each counts for that and each counts for one and no more than one, in the body politic. As men are *not equal* morally, intellectually or physically, they cannot be placed on a footing of equality in public matters,—they have not an equality of natural public or political rights. John Stuart Mill held that "equal voting *is in principle wrong*." The late eminent teacher and philosopher, T. H. Green, rightly held of every citizen that "if he is to have a higher feeling of political duty (than that of merely "receiving protection in the exercise of his rights of person and property") he must take part in the work of the state." There are various ways in which this citizen can be enabled "to take part in the work of the state" and influence that work, and already we have mentioned some of them as having been fully and practically given effect to in the practice of the ancient Indian state. But we cannot agree with

Green when he says that "he (the citizen) must have a share, direct or indirect, by himself acting as a member, or by voting for the members of the supreme or provincial assemblies in making and maintaining the laws which he obeys." For, all citizens are not equally gratified to "act as a member or vote for the members of the supreme or provincial assemblies", which are entrusted with the work of legislation and control over the executive.

If all men were guided in forming their opinions or determine their activities by a right perception and understanding of what is in consonance with reason or even self-interest the principle of equality in political rights—or even of giving one vote to each citizen as a means of exercising that principle—will not prove the great mischief it has proved to be since it was advocated by Rousseau or by the Jacobin party who were his first disciples. The truth, however, is that ordinary men are almost always governed in their activities by their merely unthinking passions, transient impulses, and even chance associations or illusions of a kind they would soon be ashamed to avow. The majority of men, too, have not the education and training needed to discover (or adjust) the right means for the accomplishment of suitable public aims. When questions of high public policy involving national honor or glory or advancement crop up, how can we be justified in supposing that the average voter, even in a country like England, France, or Germany would be able to view it in all its diverse and comprehensive bearings on the present and future welfare of the nation or of humanity at large? Even a great public man—as, for instance, the late President Wilson—has often proved a most untrustworthy guide or even a sham of the most inconceivable kind when conceiving, planning, or putting into execution a great measure of national or cosmopolitan importance! How, then, can an ordinary voter comprehend such a measure in all its associations and bearings upon the present or future interests of hundreds of millions of people belonging to different nations and civilisations in all parts of a world-wide empire or a federation of peoples and states? It was not without reason that the greatest of British political thinkers—Edmund Burke, maintained that there is "as little of policy or utility, as there is of right, in laying down that a majority of men, told by the head are to be considered as the people and that, as such, their will is to be law." Nearly fifty years ago, when the late Mr. James Knowles started the "*Nineteenth Century.*" Review, the late eminent British Statesman, W. E. Gladstone, laid down the proposition—and it was discussed in a "Symposium" in the same Review by a number of writers and politicians of eminence—that "the popular judgment in politics is better than that of the higher orders." Against this view which smacks of demagoguish aspirations and arts, we would put forth the balanced and philosophic judgment of John Stuart Mill who, in one of his great writings, has boldly come forward to proclaim "the extreme unfitness of mankind in general, and of the labouring classes in particular, for any order of things that would make any considerable demand upon their intellect and virtue." It might be true that since the days of J. S. Mill, the labouring classes in England (and elsewhere) have made a a great advance in "intellect and virtue" by availing themselves of the system of popular education in vogue which is said to be highly effective in promoting national efficiency in every direction. Still, the causes which have led to the world-strife recently ended and the events which have transpired in consequence of the holding of the various Conferences subsequent to the Armistice of 1918 do not enable us to entertain an assured hope that the ascendency and prevalence of mere numerical majorities in determining National aspirations and policies will ever be of benefit to national communities much less to mankind at large. It has even often occured at British General Elections that the so-called Majority is far from being a real Majority of the votes cast into the ballot-box,—much less of the entire electorate of Britain. Hence, the prevailing system of popular representation by counting the votes of the electorate is a mere delusion and a snare. Moreover, we have to remember how the ordinary voter is apt to be entirely misled and perverted in forming his political opinions or associations by the mischievous activity of professional politicians, and demagogues whose services are engaged by party "Caucuses," cliques and committees formed in order to advance merely sectional or purely local interests. The wire-puller is abroad, and his work lies in identifying the party with the leaders or even its one bureaucratic leader for the time being, and both with the national community at large in advancing its power, prestige and possessions in the world.

Finally, why do even constitutionally governed communities and even the democratic commonwealths of today retain the *right of veto* for their chiefs and presidents, and at least the theory (or pretence) of the right for the institution of Kingship (such as we

have it in the England of totay)? Nothing can be better calculated to show how utterly mischievous is the right of mere "majorities" and numbers "to lay down the politics and public measures of states at home or abroad. No doubt the veto is intended to be utilised as a last resort against the passions of the mob or the arts of the wirepuller and demagogue. Still it indicates clearly that there can be no greater political fallacy and no worse political falsehood than the doctrine which lays down that all citizens have equal natural rights in the state and which upholds the right of mere majorities and numbers to guide the policy of nations and the destinies of the human race at large.

Social and Religious.

The Bhagvad Gita.

With an English Exposition
By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri B. A, B. L.
(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha, Trichinopoly.

CHAPTER IX

शुभाशुभफलैरेवं मोक्ष्यसे कर्मबन्धनैः ।
संन्यासयोगयुक्तात्मा विमुक्तो मामुपैष्यसि ॥ २८ ॥

Thus shalt thou be liberated from the bonds of action which bring auspicious and inauspicious fruits. With thy mind made steadfast by such Sanyasayoga (the action which is of the nature of renunciation of attchment as doer and of expectation of results) and liberated from all bonds, thou shalt even now attain Me.

Notes:

1. Sri Mahdusoodana says well:—

संन्यासः सर्वकर्मणां भगवति समर्पणं स एव योग इव चित्तशोधकत्वात् योगः.

समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।
ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥

I am the same unto all beings. To me there is none hateful or beloved. They who worship me with devotion, they are in Me and I also am in them.

Notes:

1. The Lord says that his grace to his devotees is not due to any, partiality. Fire warms those who seek it. It is equally helpful to all. But only those who go near it feel its beneficence. Though the Lord lives equally in the hearts of all, only those who yearn for Him and approach the pure life-giving flame of His grace, feel its beneficence.

Notes:

1. He is *sama* i.e. equally approachable and attainable.

2. Sri Ramanujacharya says in a beautiful passage:—

देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्यस्थावरात्मनाऽवस्थितेषु जातितश्चाकारतः स्वभावतो ज्ञानतश्चात्यन्तोत्कृष्टापकृष्टरूपेण वर्तमानेषु सर्वभूतेषु समाश्रयणीयत्वे समोऽहम् ।

3. Sri Madhwacharya refers to the following five verse in the Paingi khitas:

ये वै भजन्ति परमं पुमांसं
तेषां वशः स तु ते तद्वशाश्च ।

4. The difference in results is due to the difference in the mental attitude towards God. Sri Madhwacharya says well :

तथापि बुद्धिपूर्वकत्वात् युद्धिपूर्वकृत्वेन भेदः । उद्धवादिवत् शिशुपालादिवच्च । तच्चोक्तं तत्त्व । अबुद्धिपूर्वं योऽवशः स्वध्यानात्पुनर्वशो भवते बुद्धिपूर्वमिति ।

5. If the surface is polished, it reflects the light and shines forth, if it is not polished, it does not reflect the light and is black. Hence it is not the light that is to blame but it is the surface that is in fault, Even so is it with the light of His grace.

Literary and Educational.

Motilal Ghose.

A GREAT CAREER.

(*concluded*)

FIGHT WITH SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN.

His next feat, under the guidance of his brother, was more important. Sir Lepel Griffin, as Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, was a terror to the rulers of Indian States. He was called the "King Maker" because not only had he placed Abdur Rahman on the throne of Cabul, but he was also the keeper of over one hundred Indian princes and princesses in Central India. He ruled them with an iron hand and they trembled before him with fear. Even the Viceroys were afraid of him, so powerful was he.

The then Begum of Bhopal, however, did not obey him so implicitly as the other rulers did. And she had to pay a heavy penalty for it. Not only did Sir Lepel interfere constantly with her administration reducing her to a cypher in her State, but he disgraced her by abusing her husband before her face in the presence of others, and what is incredible, he kept her separate from her husband for six months! Finally their deportation to Rangoon on charges of disloyalty was settled.

When in this distressful condition the Begum sought the help of the Ghose brothers through an agent of hers "placing her hoards of treasure at their disposal" if they could extricate her from her awful position. The brothers refused money—they would not serve anybody for pay. They wanted only authenticated documents to prove the alleged oppressions and highhandedness of the Agent to the Governor-General. This was done, and some of the documents were original letters in the hand-writing of Sir Lepel himself in which he had used insulting expressions towards Her Highness.

The two brothers immediately began their operation. Week after week their paper came out with articles containing serious allegations against Sir Lepel supporting them with documentary evidence of an unimpeachable character. It caused tremendous sensation throughout the length and breadth of the land. There was not an Indian paper which did not quote the "Patrika" articles, with comments in their columns and demand an enquiry. Even Anglo-Indian

papers like the "Indian Daily News' and "Statesman" also joined in this cry. Months passed away and the Government seemed to be indifferent. But at last the "Patrika's" efforts were crowned with success—the wrong was removed and the wrong-doer punished.

As expected Sir Lepel chafed with rage under this universal condemnation of his conduct. He caused a rumour to be circulated that he was preparing to take his revenge on the "Patrika" by instituting a case. But this did not stop its conductors from pursuing him with dogged pertinacity. While the "Patrika" was thus handling Sir Lepel, a Government communication to the latter in reply to a letter of his, disclosed some interesting facts. It showed that Sir Lepel had written to the Government of India demanding the immediate prosecution of the "Patrika" by the State. In reply the Government of India wrote that they were unable to comply with this request as the paper had done nothing to deserve a state prosecution. They however, added that if Sir Lepel felt himself aggrieved he might bring a case of defamation against the journal.

Sir Lepel was however, very averse to adopt this course. For he knew that the "Patrika's" allegations were all true, and he would only make a fool of himself by rushing to court to try his strength with that journal. Next he restored to bullying. He gave the Government the ultimatum that either they must prosecute the "Patrika" or accept his resignation, thinking that without him the administration would fall to pieces and the Government would not venture to dispense with his services. To his utter surprise and chagrin, however, the Government of India, instead of prosecuting the "Patrika," accepted his resignation! The triumph of the "Patrika" was thus complete. It was unthinkable that a powerful high official like Sir Lepel Griffin could be expelled from the service by the efforts of a "Native" paper. Yet this incredible feat was accomplished. Not only was the Begum of Bhopal delivered from a grim nightmare sitting on her chest, but many other Indian States began to breathe more freely. The Begum was restored to her full powers and her first act was to drive the European minister and his other proteges whom Sir Lepel had fastened on her state.

Services To Indian States.

Like the Begum of Bhopal the Maharanee of of Rewah also was treated outrageously by Sir Lepel. He forcibly snatched away her only son from her and put him in the Daly Raj Kumar College, with the result that her Highness left Rewah heart-broken and entered a dense wildernesss with the resolve of killing herself by fasting. The "Patrika" brought the matter to the attention of the then Viceroy Lord Dufferin, who at once sent a special agent to bring her back and save her life. Indore, Gwalior, and many other States also fell victims to Sir Lepel Griffin's high-handed and relentless rule, and they all were saved by the patriotic efforts of the "Patrika."

Be it remembered that the Ghose brothers served these States with a halter round their necks. If Lord Lansdowne, instead of Lord Dufferin were the Viceroy of India at the time the brothers would have had no escape from a State trial. The Indian States can never repay the services which the "Patrika" did to them under the guidance of the two brothers. It should be noted here that though they might have earned lakhs of rupees by advocating the cause of the Native States—and the Begum placed her "hoards of treasure" at their disposal—they disdained to touch their money though offered. They held the opinion that journalism was a most sacred profession, and for a journalist to serve for pay is to degrade and prostitute himself.

Here is a story we heard Moti Babu telling Babu Upendra Nath Sen, the well known Kaviraj of Calcutta, about a year ago. The late deposed Holkar quarelled with his senior Maharani and stopped her allowance in 1899 or 1900. The latter sent an agent to Moti Babu to take up her case and offered him a handsome sum of money. He told the agent that he could not oblige the Maharanee for two reasons. First of all he would never go against an Indian State on principle. The germs of Indian nationality which have disappeared from British India, still exist in the Indian States. No one having a drop of national feeling in him should therefore, do anything to weaken their prestige. Secondly, it was a quarrel between wife and husband, and he would never be a party to it. As for money, he had never touched it, when serving such big States as Bhopal, Gwalior, etc., and he would not now soil his hand by accepting it in connection with a case in which the wife had brought a serious charge against her husband.

The disappointed agent left Moti Babu in disgust and sought the help of another journalist who vigorously took up the case of the Maharanee, both by agitating it in his paper and writing memorials for her to the Governor-General-Council. The Maharanee got back her allowance, but not the principal thing called the Khasgimosey which was snatched from her by the Maharaja. Her Highnees was, however, so gratified with the small mercy shown to her by the Government of India that she rewarded the services of the journalist by giving a large amount of money both in cash and gold ornaments. Babu Upendra Nath said that he knew the facts and the story was not new to him.

Mr. Caine's Testimony.

We shall end this chapter by quoting the following letter of Mr. W. S. Caine M. P. dwelling on the fight between the 'Patrika" and Sir Lepel Griffin a few weeks after the publication of Mrs. Annie Besant's article in the "Universal Review" bringing the same charges against Sir Lepel in his relation with the Begum of Bhopal as the "Patrika" did. It appeared in the 'Patrika' of May 9, 1889:—

"The brave Sir Lepel Griffin who wished to take vengeance on the 'Patrika' for its truth-speaking under cover of Government action, has shown even worse want of courage in England. If the article published five weeks ago in the "Universal Review" is based upon falsehood, Sir Lepel could get big damages in our English court. He has, however, made no sign in this direction. His not doing so is a triumph for you. I do not see any fact stated in Mrs. Besant's article which I have not previously read in the "Patrika." By his silence Sir Lepel admits the truth of allegations made against him. That being so it is easy to see how hollow were the brave words he used in the letter he wrote to the Government of India which was nearly a year ago, published in England. Newspapers friendly to Sir Lepel told him he ought not to sit quiet under such charges as were brought against him, if those charges were not true. His silence is capable of but one interpretation. He did in Bhopal all those things which the "Patrika charged him with having done and in doing them acted as an enemy to British rule in India through the injustice to the Indian princes which he perpetrated. The cause of the Begum was really the cause of the Indian princes generally and collectively."

Mr. Caine next paid the following compliment to the 'Patrika's' patriotism and boldness—:

"I am constrained to add a word or two respecting the 'Patrika' which, I hope your well-known modesty will not cause you to strike out. Indeed, you

are bound to let your countrymen know, how the 'Patrika is regarded by an influential class of Englishmen here. The "Patrika" is read by English public-men who take an interest in Indian affairs, apart from official utterances. Its fearlessnes and yet never unfair way of putting things is greatly appreciated. Even more, however, it is esteemed because of the invariably accurate information it contains. Its defence of the Native Princes, its sturdy opposition to all attempts, open or concealed to bring the native ruled portions of India under British control, are recognised and greatly admired. I have heard the remark made that a like course of conduct on the part of Indian papers generally would not only make annexation impossible, but would also safeguard the Princes in their rights and lead to greater liberty of action in Native States than is now enjoyed. I agree with that opinion to some extent. I only object so far as to say that the 'Patrika' in my humble judgment, is already doing magnificent service to the Native States generally and to those of Central India in particular.

Your paper is recognised as speaking on the topics it deals with, in a fearless spirit, with absolute honesty, and with such accuracy as proves that nothing is abused in its columns except after investigation and on good grounds. Its genuine humour and undoubted abilities are also greatly appreciated. Long may it continue to flourish; may it in the words of certain ancient scriptures, continue to be a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well.

With The Lieutenant Governors Of Bengal.

The only Lieutenant-Governor with whom Babu Motilal was on friendly terms was Sir Edward Baker. All the rulers of Bengal, from Sir George Campbell to Sir Andrew Fraser, with the exception of Sir Richard Temple and Sir Stuart Bayley, were hostile to the "Patrika." Sir Andrew Fraser, though in the beginning of his rule, showed some regard for Moti Babu, became his enemy afterwards on account of the active part he took in the Swadeshi Movement. He left a disagreeable legacy to his successor, Sir Edward Baker. It was to carry out the deportation order in regard to a number of Bengalee leaders one of whom was Babu Motilal himself. The latter had gone to Dervar just after the appointment of Sir Edward, when one day he and the whole public, were startled by the news that Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt and a number of other Bengalee public men had been arrested and deported. Babu Motilal was awaiting his turn when instead of a warrant he received a letter from the Maharaja of Dhurbhanga asking him to come down and see the new Lieutenant Governor as promptly as possible.

In the meantime Sir Edward's Private Secretary wrote to Moti Babu appointing the time of his interview with His Honour. When he called on the Lt. Governor he found him in very good temper. Sir Edward appreciated humour and his visitor made him laugh vociferously several times by his quaint way of putting things. At last Moti Babu asked the Lieutenant Governor, more in joke than in earnest if His Honor read his paper and what opinion he had about its writings—"are they seditious or what?—We now quote from the private diary of Babu Motilal:

"When I asked him if the writings in the "Patrika" were seditious or what, his face brightened up, and with a wicked smile in his face, he replied, "well, well, you have done well by broaching this subject. I shall frankly give you my opinion. No one has been a more studious reader of your paper for the last two decades or more than I, and in my opinion, its policy is that of Lord Randolf Churchill, who, when in opposition, would oppose Government whether it did a bad thing or a good thing. Oppose, oppose, oppose was the rule with him. The "Patrika" would similarly oppose Government whether it did a good or a bad thing. And your writings show that you regard us as so many unwelcome interlopers and that the sooner we leave the country the better for you. The "Patrika" I fancy has very little love for the Government," and he seemed to be very merry over his own remarks.

I replied: "I strongly protest against what you say. I shall prove in a few words that Your Honour's observation is unwarranted. I freely admit that the "Patrika" has several defects but it is not a donkey. You say it opposes even when Government confers a boon. That is the work of a donkey. We can praise as well as censure. If we censure as a rule it is because you give us so few opportunities to praise! And, Sir Edward, are you not on a higher platform than we? Have you any idea of our sufferings? No, none whatever, I submit. For you are in the position of a ruler and we that of the ruled. You are to command and we are to obey implicitly. And suppose, we from a sense of wrong, real or imaginary, say or write something which we should not, have you not a little bit of generosity in you to forgive us for the same, considering our unhappy position? Your opinion is that what we write in the "Patrika" is sedition and my prayer is that when you find it necessary to hand us up for this offence, please give us some time so that we may make our last will."

Sir Edward's face became very small. He stammered out apologetically that, that was the impression made in him after reading the "Patrika" for years together. "As for your making your last will.," he said smiling, "I shall give you ample time for it." I pointed out to him that he being an official, and we a severe critic of the Government it is very natural he should form that kind of opinion. But if he can forget his prejudices he will find that the "Patrika" is not such a bad paper as he thinks."

It is very doubtful if we have got many public men among us who could speak in this fearless manner to a Civilian ruler. It is an open secret that Sir. Edward erased the names of Babus Surendra Nath Banerjee and Motilal Ghose from the deportees' list which Sir Andrew Fraser had left for him.

With Lord Carmichael.

It is widely known that Lord Carmichael had much regard for Moti Babu. He did not conceal it from any one. At least during the first two years of his Governorship, no Bengalee gentleman was more in his confidence than Babu Motilal Ghose. As soon as his Lordship arrived in Calcutta from Madras he sought him out, evidently through the good offices of his Private Secretary Mr. Gourlay, with whom Babu Motilal was on very intimate terms. As soon as they met they were closetted together in the Government House for nearly two hours, when Babu Motilal gave his Lordship a vivid description of the condition of Bengal, and its wants and grievances, and it made a deep impression on his mind. His Lordship, Moti Babu said, would earn the fervent gratitude of the people of Bengal if he could do only two things during his tenure of office—(1) improve its sanitation (2) and put the Police under check. He promised he would do his best.

When Lord Carmichael went up to Darjeeling, Babu Moti Lal wrote to Mr. Gourlay making some enquiries about the Governor. The result was the following autograph letter from His Excellency:

Government House,

Darjeeling, May 18, 1912.

Dear Mr. Moti Lal Ghose,

Mr. Gourlay showed me a letter he had got from you about a fortnight ago, which interested and pleased me very much. I did not write to you at the time as I was very busy, and there was no real need to do so. But I hope you will forgive my trespassing on your time a few minutes now.

I want to tell you that I shall always be more than grateful to you, if you directly or indirectly let me know of anything to which you think I ought to attend. I daresay I shall often learn of such things." from the "Amrita Bazar Patrika." I have done so already. I am sincerely anxious to help any one who is trying to make Bengal a happier place for its people to live in. I know that many people must be disappointed with me, for I know I shall never be able to do as much as many people expect ; they may even be angry with me, I shan't blame them, for people ought to expect more than is possible from every one put in authority ; it is only by doing so that they are able gradually to get what is possible; and in the case of a Governor it is often I fancy only because he is blamed that he is able to get others whose advice he must often listen to even when sometimes he least trusts it to agree to try he thinks worth trying. But I do want to do all I can and that all must be greater or less according as those who know when the need lies tell me what they know. I do not suppose that even if a governor came here full of local knowledge instead of coming here as I do ignorant of even the language of my neighbours he could do a tenth part of what he would like to do. There are many things to hamper one. Possibly it is right that for the present they should be there: until they are removed the march of progress must seem slow ; especially is this the case in things to do with self-government and even with education or anything that depends for the most part on how men think. In every country men who realise what is good for their fellows have to fret and fret waiting for those who would benefit the most if they only know it to realise the truth, and over and over again those who knew what is best and want to take it have to take not even the second best or the third best but something which is hardly good at all, because their poor—short sighted neighbours can't see clearly. There are some things I hope, which a governor may fairly insist on doing when he sees his way, but in many things the most he can do, and probably that is often better than what he would like to do, is to try and persuade people to look at things from a different stand-point from what they have done. My great desire while here is that I may be able to lead all I can to widen their out-look and to look ahead as far as they can. But I won't waste your time only thank you for your kind message and hope you are still getting stronger. Gourlay says he does not think you are likely to come up here but if you do I hope you will let me know that we may meet. In any case though I hope we may meet in Calcutta.

Yours very sincerely,

Carmichael.

At The Sanitary Conference.

The letter shows what an excellent heart Lord Carmichael possessed. But he could do very little, firstly for want of funds and, secondly, for his incapacity to control his subordinates who were practically the masters of the situation owing to his ignorance of the real conditions of things in his province. Be it, however, said to his credit that he earnestly took up Moti Babu's sanitation idea. The removal of the drinking water scarcity was a dire necessity. It is yet a standing scandal that millions of villagers in Bengal drink what is practically diluted sewage during the three hottest months in the year.

Moti Babu's suggestion was that His Excellency should make the District Boards excavate tanks and wells with the Road Cess Fund and supply the people with drinking water. Accordingly Lord Carmichael summoned a Conference of a number of leading men at Darjeeling to consider the question of rural water-supply. There he acknowledged publicly that it was from Babu Moti Lal and his paper that he had learnt much of Bengal. It was at the instance of Moti Babu also that Lord Carmichael wrote strongly to the Government of India for making over the entire proceeds of the Public Works Cess, which was imperialised, to the District Boards to carry on the water supply work. The Boards have now enough funds in their hands for removing Lord Carmichael is entitled to our fervent gratitude for conferring this boon on its people.

Two instances may be mentioned to show Lord Carmichael's regard for Moti Babu. He nominated him as a delegate, on behalf of the Government of Bengal, to the Imperial Sanitary Conference held at Madras in 1912. Babu Moti Lal created some sensation there by crying shame on the members of the Conference for neglecting the sanitary claims of the poor and helpless rural population and devoting all their energy and attention to the improvement of sanitation in towns, the inhabitants of which were able to take care of themselves. Since then the authorities of the sanitary Conference have been evincing equal interest both for rural and urban sanitation.

The other incident is of a rather personal nature. The Government of India, at the instance of the Administration of Assam, demanded a deposit of Rs. 5000 from the proprietors of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" under the Press Act. Lord Carmichael strongly protested. He was very unwilling to carry the order of the Government of India, but was compelled to do so against his wish. He next spoke twice to Lord Hardinge to relieve the "Patrika" of the millstone which was put round its neck, but Sir Reginald Craddock stood in the way. Mr. Lyon, senior member of the Executive Council of Lord Carmichael's government, sought twice to make the "Patrika" forfeit its deposit of Rs. 5,000, but Lord Carmichael overruled him. There is no doubt that but for the protection of Lord Carmichael the "Patrika" would have been crushed by Mr. Lyon to whom it was an eye-sore.

Babu Motilal's Character.

Babu Motilal is a great personality in India. As a rule, following the example of his illustrious brother, he works from behind. He rarely comes to front, yet his paper is one of the most powerful moulders of public opinion in this country. For thirty-five years or more it has, under his guidance, been one of the important factors in Indian society and politics. And during that period there has been no solid and lasting reform, which does not owe much to its influence and advocacy. In the matter of building up the modern Indian nation, Babu Moti Lal's contribution has been as ample as that of any of our great Indian patriots. He wrote some very striking articles on this subject during the Swadeshi agitation. Originality, vigour and perspicuity characterise most of his public writings and speeches, and there are few Indian public men who are so well-informed about the affairs of the country as he. Like his brother he leads a simple and unostentatious life. If he had minded he might enter the Supreme Legislative Council but his ambition never lay in that direction. His private character is irreproachable and he is a devout Vaishnava, a follower of Sri Chaitanya, who preached the religion of love.

Moti Babu and Lord Curzon.

Among the officials Babu Motilal was known as an honest and sincere man, but an uncompromising critic of the Government. Hence he was both hated and respected by many officers of the Government. All the same, he had access to the highest authorities. Lord Curzon valued his opinion though the "Patrika" attacked his policy fiercely. He never came face to face with his Lordship—indeed the latter was too superior a "purzon" to talk directly with a plebian like Babu Motilal. Perhaps it is not generally known that Lord Curzon granted interviews only to a few Rajahs and Maharajahs. He would not meet even Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose, though a judge of the High Court and the only occasion when they met they quarrelled and Sir Chander Madhav never again crossed the Government House, so long it was in the possession of this superior Viceroy. Lord Curzon, however, now and then, sent for Babu Motilal and conversed with him behind the 'purdah' through his Private Secretary. His Lordship was in the audience hall and Babu Motilal sat with the Private Secretary in his room, and the latter carried his message, in words or writing to His Excellency and His August Excelleney sent back his replies generally in words to his visitor sitting only a few yards from him.

Here is an instance to show how this unique interview behind the purdah more correctly speaking behind the wall, was carried on. Lord Curzon was on the eve of his departure for East Bengal to discuss the partition question with its people. At that time he gave out that he had kept his mind open on the subject.

His Lordship sent for Moti Babu to give him points if any. Sir Walter Lawrence had then left the Viceroy, and either Colonel Pinbeaor, or a civillian was his Private Secretary. The Private Secretary took down the points in a slip of paper which he carried to the All-High and the letter sent back replies to each of them in pencil writing. Two of these points may he mentioned here: One was that His Excellency should make no difference between Hindu and Mussalman leaders of East Bengal, that if he dined at the palace of the Nawab of Dassa, he should also show the same honour to the Maharajah of Mymensingh. "Yes" was the reply. Another point was that it would be impossible for Bengal to find money for the maintenance of two separate govenments if it were divided. The reply was to this effect: "Mr. Ghose meed not trouble himself about the cost. My government has enough money in its coffer to meet it. Yet Mr. Ghose's prophecy was afterwards fulfilled to the letter. For one of the main reasons for annulling the partition of Bengal was that the East Bengal Government proved a veritable white elephant to the Government of India. If Lord Curzon had listened to the sane advice of Moti Babu and desisted from the vandalism of dividing the Bengali nation, what an amount of untold human misery might have been avoided!

With Lord Minto.

Lord Minto, unlike his predcessors, gave a different treatment to Babu Moti Lal. Not only did his Lordship receive him very cordially on his first interview, but during the first two years of his Viceroyalty he sent for Moti Babu every now and then and consulted him about the important affairs of the country. Possibly he showed him this special consideration owing to two circumstances. First, Moti Babu and Sir Dunlop Smith, Lord Minto's Private Secretary were good friends; and secondly, the interview which H. R. H. the Prince of Wales had granted to Babu Moti Lal before Lord Minto's arrival in India. Lord Minto and Babu Moti Lal, however, rarely met during the last three years of his administration, when he was entirely dominated by the official view of the revolutionary movement in Bengal, and resorted to a policy of repression which was as pitiless as it was unreasonable. In his heart of hearts Lord Minto was a good man and sincerely desirous of benefitting the people of this country, yet to him we owe such dreadful measures as the Seditious Meetings Act the Press Act etc.

The Partition of Bengal was the uppermost thought in the mind of every educated man when Lord Minto first arrived in Calcutta. Naturally Moti Babu broached this subject before him when they first met. Lord Minto did not at first encourage him in this matter bnt when he begged His Excellency's permission to submit a plan for his consideration which if accepted, he said, would satisfy the people and not hurt the prestige of the Government, the Viceroy was all attention. It was not his own scheme, said Babu Motilal but that of Mr. Broadrick, the previous Secretary of Sate. Lord Curzon had not even noticed it, but Lord Minto might adopt it and solve the vexed question of partition easily and to the satisfaction of all.

Moti Babu then explained his plan in these words:—It might be called the Sind System, he said. The main reason why Bengal was cut into two was its unwieldiness. "It was too big a province for one man to rule",—was the cry. The same cry was also raised when Sind was added to Bombay. But the difficulty was removed in this wise. Sind was placed under the charge of a Commissioner, and the Governor of Bombay delegated all his executive powers to him. In other words, the Commissioner of Sind became its 'de facto' Governor. But in matters judicial and Legislative, Sind remained to within the jurisdiction of the High Court and Legislature of Bombay.

So what Moti Babu proposed was that Bengal, Behar and Orissa might be placed under a Governor and Assam under a Chief Commissioner to whom the Governor of Bengal might delegate all his executive function. Assam like Sind availing itself of the advantages of a common Legislature and High Court with Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Lord Minto seemed to be impressed with the plan. His Lordship asked Moti Babu to prepare his scheme and submit it formally to Government and promised to forward it to the Secretary of State. A Committee consisting of all prominent Bengal leaders was then sitting at the Indian Association room almost daily te carry on the partition agitation. There was joy among its members when Babu Moti Lal communicated the purport of his conversation with the Viceroy. Moti Babu was however, afraid of Sir Henry Cotton who, he said, might press his own scheme, in which he had advocated the separation of Bengal and Behar in the House of Commons. Babu Surenrda Nath Banerjee, however, undertook to wire to Sir Henry not to take any step in this connection without consulting the Calcutta Partition Committee. But as we shall presently see, Moti Babu's worst fears were realised.

Sir Hnery Cotton's Blunder.

Babu Moti Lal sumbitted his scheme to the Government of India in due course. Sir Dunlop Smith was in deep sympathy with the people of Bengal in this matter and helped him in drafting it. He also undertook to induce some members of the Executive Council not to oppose its despatch to the Secretary of State. But the evil star of Bengal was in the ascendant. Sir Henry made his 'maiden' speech in Parliament in which he discussed the partition question and advocated the separation of Bengal and Behar and Lord Morely curtly replied that the partition was 'a settled fact' and he would not re-open the question.

When Reuter telegraphed the news to the Indian Press, it naturally fell like a thunderbolt on Babu Moti Lal and almost broke his heart. He ran to the Government House and Sir Dunlop Smith tauntingly enquired of him 'who was the leader of Bengal—Sir Henry Cotton or the Partition Committee? Babu Moti Lal urged that for the fault of a private member of Parliament the innocent people of Bengal should not be punished and insisted on his scheme being forwarded to the Secretary of State. "It was too late," said Sir Dunlop. He pointed cut that when the Secretary of State had publicly closed the controversy it was impossible for the Viceroy to ask him to reopen it. Ill-fated Bengal! If this Sind system had been adopted not only would the two Bengals have been reunited, but Bengalees to the number of six millions would not have been separated from Bengal and put either under the Lieutenant-Governorship of Behar or the Chief Commissionership of Assam and treated as foreigners.

What happened in England was thus related to Babu Moti Lal by the late Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Mr. Gokhale, and it was published in the "Patrika." Sir Lawrence was at the time a member of the India Council and had great influence over Lord Morley. He tried his best to persuade the then Secretary of State to modify the partition of Bengal on the Sind system. This was a strange coincidence between his views and those of Moti Lal. Lord Morley, however, gave Sir Lawrence to understand that he had kept his mind open on the subject, that he was studying it but that if any pro-Indian member of Parliament would take it into his head to raise the question in the House he would confirm the decision of the Curzon Government. Sir Lawrence got anxious, and deputed Mr. Gokhale to warn the pro-Indian Members. Messrs Keir Hardie MacDonald and other M. P's promised to keep quiet, but as Sir Henry Cotton petulently said that he knew his business better than anybody else, and that he would raise the question in the House. And he did it as we know, with the disastrous result that his speech extorted the famous expression from Lord Morley—"The partition of Bengal is a settled fact." There is no doubt that Sir Henry was actuated by the best of motives. But sometimes friends do more harm than enemies Bengal had to pay a very heavy penalty for his indiscretion.

SIR BAMPFYLDE FULLER.

Here is another important incident which resulted from Moti Babu's coming in contact with Lord Minto. During his Viceroyalty Sir Bampfylde Fuller was ruling East Bengal as its Lieutenant Governor with an iron hand and driving its people to anarchism and madness. Lord Minto was very much annoyed at his conduct. One day in course of conversation Babu Motilal spoke to His Excellency to this effect; "It was not proper for him to say anything against a sub-ordinate of His Excellency, specially when he was the ruler of a province, but as Sir Bampfylde was turning the country upside down and as His Excellency could alone put a check to his high-handed proceedings he would venture to make a suggestion." It was not Moti Babu's wish that His Excellency should openly censure Sir Bampfylde or humiliate him in any way, but if he could see his way to write him a private letter appealing to his higher-sense of duty he might mend his ways.

Lord Minto replied that it was an excellent suggestion and he undertook to act up to it. Lord Minto wrote the letter but it produced a different result. Instead of softening his heart it only exasperated Sir Bampfylde. He deeply resented this kindly advice and replied that if His Excellency were to interfere with his work in that way, he would have no option but to resign. "Such perversity,' said Sir Dunlop Smith when talking about the matter with Moti Babu 'was unthinkable," it, however, paved the way of his downfall. If, after such ungrateful and insubordinate conduct Lord Minto became his enemy nobody could blame him. Sir Bampfylde asked the Calcutta University to disaffiliate a Serajgunge School for the Swadeshi tendencies of its teachers and students. They refused. He then sought the help of the Viceroy Lord Minto, however, sided with the University. Sir Bampfylde Fuller took this as a personal affront and tendered his resignation in a huff. Lord Minto was too glad to accept it. His Lordship had his revenge at last. Babu Motilal was thus the indirect means of ridding East Bengal of an undesirable who in the course of six months had practically driven thirty millions of souls mad by his pitious administration.

MOTI BABU AND LORD HARDINGE.

With Lord Harding Moti Babu had only one interview, as with the transfer of the capital of the Empire to Delhi, during the first year of His Viceroyalty, his Lordship left Calcutta for good. Babu Motilal, however, made the best use of the 20 minutes which Lord Harding gave him. The Hindus of Bengal had at the time incurred the serious displeasure of the authorities on account of anarchism in Bengal. Moti Babu was anxious to remove this anti-Hindu feeling from the mind of Lord Harding, if he had any.

He, therefore, began by telling His Excellency that although the Hindus deserved well at the hands of the rulers they were treated with undue harshness. As an instance he referred to the All-India Hindu organisation which had been conceived by the Maharaja of Durbhanga but crushed in the bud by Sir Edward Baker. His Lordship expressed great suprise when he heard of this and promised his help in the matter. He said that the Hindus were the only nation in Asia, when the English first came to the East, who had a Literature, science, Art and Civilisation of their own which were of the highest order and the present rulers might take this credit that they had appreciated it and preserved all Hindu institutions intact. But suddenly he changed the subject and asked Babu Motilal to explain how could Bengali youths belonging to 'bhadroloka' families commit political dacoities and how should they be dealt with?

It should be noted here that well known dacoity case in which a number of Bengali youths had been involved was just then pending before the Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins. A suggestion was made in the 'Patrika' that they might be pardoned and given a chance to reform themselves. Referring to this suggestion, Lord Harding said that he might have accepted it if the offenders had been actuated by patriotic motives, but they were only ordinary criminals who had robbed their own people for their private gains and they deserved severe punishments specially as they belonged to the 'bhodroloka' community.

Babu Motilal gave a characteristic reply. He regretted his inability to agree with His Excellency. He asked, which would be the greater punishment to these misguided youngmen—a sentence of tenyears' rigorous imprisonment or a social condemnation of their conduct? If they were sent to jail they would come back, when released, more hardened criminals than they origianally were, but if their relations, friends and countrymen were to cry shame on them for their disgraceful conduct if they were to reproach them by saying that they had disgraced themselves and their families for ever, was it not likely that

these rebukes would tell on their moral sense more powerfully and make them realise their abominable conduct more vividly than any sort of physical punishment that might be inflicted on them? He then made a passionate appeal to the Viceroy. "Release these young men, Your Excellency, take security from them for their good behaviour if necessary, only give them a chance to reform themselves and become again citizens, and God and man will bless you for this merciful act.'

Lord Hardinge reflected for a moment and replied, "there is considerable force in what you have said. I shall consider the matter." It transpired afterwards that Lord Harding consulted Sir S. P. Sinha about this matter and he also pleaded for the release of the youngmen in the same way as Babu Motilal did. And it is a well-known fact that they were released after they had given a guarantee that if they went astray again they would be liable to be punished more severely than they would have been for their first offence. It is remarkable that none of these youngmen—dozens in number—have broken the pledge they gave.

Historical and Scientific.

Ancient India.

By Prof. S. Levi.

THE CULTURAL UNITY OF INDIA.

No one can dispute the existence of an Indian civilisation, characterised by the predominance of one ideal, of one doctrine, of one language, of one literature and of one social class. From the Himalaya to Ceylon cultured minds and simple souls alike believe in the same transcendental law—the "Dharma" bound up with eternal transmigration "Samsara" and the inevitable recompense of acts from existence to existence "Karman". Religions and philosophies agree in preaching the nothingness of the individual and the vanity, the illusion of things. Sanskrit, the language of the gods, has enjoyed a prestige for two or three milleniums. Vyasa, Valmiki, Kalidasa, are unanimously held to be models of taste, of poesy and of style. The Brahman is everywhere venerated as a sort of divinity on earth. But India is proof of the fact that a civilisation is not enough to form a nation. A comparison with the great peoples of classic antiquity will show only too clearly what is wanting in India. When I speak of "India" it is of ancient India that I mean to speak; I must refuse resolutely to any part in the controversies and the passions of the present moment. The science that desires to remain faithful to the sincere worship of truth must hold aloof on those serene heights 'templa serena', extolled by the Latin poet—or to borrow the language of Buddhism on "the plane of laws"—"dharmadhatu" where phenomena, sublimated as it were, lose these potentialities of defilement and disturbance that are by nature inherent in them. You all remember that admirable scene in Sakuntala where King Dusyanta comes down again from the Paradise accompanied by Matali in Indra's chariot. He is still thrilling with the battle just waged against the demoniac 'asuras'—his heart still throbbing at the thought of the well-beloved consort whom he had refused in a moment of forgetfulness, the overwhelming tumult of passions stirring the very depths of his soul.

But the chariot in its airy flight draws near to the sacred hermitage where the ascetic Kasyapa practices and imparts wisdom; and suddenly the king is aware of an inward peace that has never before had any hold on him. Then he is worthy of making his way into the refuge of the wise, where he is to receive a supreme favour at the hand of the Destiny. And we too, on the threshold of that domain where radiant science holds her sway—we must leave behind us all vain unrest, if we are to make ourselves worthy for beholding at least something of the bright light of truth.

INDIA—NOT A NATION.

As I have said, India though united by a common civilisation could not become a nation. This vast body had been wanting in the hierarchy of functions which in the higher organisms directs, controls and distributes the movements of life; the nation, like the individual, has a heart and a brain, centre of perpetual exchange of collective activities,—the centre where they converge and from which they radiate. Nothing essential can be done save through them. The most distant accidents that befall the organism are registered in them and re-act upon them; the shocks that disturb them affect injuriously the vigour and power of endurance of the whole.

Greece, divided up into innumberable cities, dispersed, as it were, in fragments far and wide across the seas, from the Asiatic sea-board to Sicily, gathered around Athens; strike out Athens and the history of Greece is but dust. The Roman Empire, though extending from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, is bound up indistinguishably with the capital; the last classical poet Rutilius Namatianus summed up the work of Rome in the striking phrase: "that which was formerly 'the world' that thou hast made 'the city' "—"Urbem fecisti qui prius orbis erat." It would be idle to point out here what London is for the British nation, and Paris for the French nation. With these names before us, names that are, so to speak synthetic where shall we look for the centre of India? At Benares, the very heart of intense religious activity, but which has played no part in the political life of the country? At Pataliputra, at Kanyakubja, at Ujjayini at Puskalavati, at Pratisthana, at Kana—so many capitals that have shone with ephemeral splendour to sink later into 'banal' mediocrity? Like the phosphorescent flames that kindle and flicker out at haphazard, in the silence of the vast night, these names have vanished or they could arrest the chronicler's gaze. And it it this that reveals yet more cruelly the woeful incoherence of this mighty mass.

INDIA HAS NO HISTORY.

India has no history. A nation, like a family, has her archives in which she stores up and watches with zealous care those titles of nobility that are the honour of her past and the guarantee of her future. She has her annals, which while the fleeting generations pass, assert the conscious continuity of a collective task. She has her great men in whom she delights to embody her ideal; she venerates them as her guides and protectors in the perplexing ways of the time. She defends their memory zealously from the threatenings of oblivion; she gathers up like precious relics even the smallest hints that are distinct in the memory. India has indeed saved some great names of her past religious or literary, but she has only saved them to drown them in the mist of dreams or in the contradictory fantasies of fiction. She has had a Sankara, as great, perhaps as a Luther. What has she made of him? A hero of common miracles or scholastic tournaments so dull, so colourless, so flaccid, so unreal that she has shifted him hither ahd thither anyhow from millenaries before Christ to the first millenary of the Christian era. Not one name, not one fact to fix with exactitude his place in the succession of centuries. And yet we have here a commanding personality that marks one of the decisive phases of human thought and survives still stamped upon the soul of the India of today. India has had a Kalidasa, an exquisite poet and ingenious creator of

forms and images, harmonious interpreter of the most noble emotions. What has she made of him? A hero of witticisms and spiteful tricks whom she attaches in-differently either to the court of a King Vikramaditya relegated to the first century before the Christian era or else in the Court of King Bhoja who reigned ten centuries later. As a compensation she has most abundant details on the Pandavas, on Rama, on the innumerable figures of epic legend, figures which she may be justly proud to have created since she has made them depositaries of a magnificient ideal; but wrapt in her own dreams, she has chosen to yield her-self up to them by fleeing from the less pleasing spectacle of the reality. And by an anomaly unex-ampled in the rest of mankind it is from foreign teaching that India has begun to know her true great-ness. She had forgotten the greatest of her sons, the Buddha. While Tibet, China, Corea, Japan, Indo-China piously repeated the story of the Master's life with gaze turned towards his birth-place. India that had given him birth no longer knew anything about him. In vain did Nepal preserve in her valley the Sanskrit originals of the sacred texts; in vain did Ceylon despite revolutions, invasions and conquests, preserve faithfully for more than 2000 years the three Baskets of Buddhist scriptures compiled in an Indian dialect, the Pali language, younger brother of Sans-krit; the name of the Buddha execrated at first by Brahminism in its day of triumph had soon disappear-ed amid universal indifference without once calling forth a single effort of sympathy or curiosity. It is Europe that has given back the Buddha to India. Europe by her travellers, missionaries and scholars had discovered all the way from the Tibetan plateau to the shore of the Pacific the splendid traces of Bud-dhist activity. She desired to know more. Both Hodgson and Burnouf contributed to knowledge, the one supply materials, the other, facts. And India, astounded was taught by the admiration of the world the greatness of the son that she had scorned.

Among the kings of India there is one who eclipses even the most glorious: that one is Asoka the Maurya Lord of a mighty empire founded by his grandfather, enlarged by his conquests and extending over the whole of India, he had assumed the task of practising and propagating righteousness: his edicts graven on rocks and pillars in all the provinces under his dominion, preach in simple and familiar language the loftiest lessons of goodness, gentleness, charity and mutual respect that humanity has ever heard of. But for long centuries the characters in which his edicts were written were but lifeless letters; it needed a Prinsep to wring their secret from the stones grown mute and to bring to light that splendid period in which Hindu policy encouraged and sustained by an active faith claimed influence extending even to Cy-renaica, even to Epirus on the confines of the Roman and the Cathaginian world. Amid the teeming abun-dance of Sanskrit literature, India gave birth to an exceptional genius born to lead in every sense, and to dare all things; Asvaghosa. He stands at the start-ing point of all the great currents that renewed and transformed India towards the beginning of the Christian era. Poet, musician, preacher, philosopher, playwright, tale-teller—he is an inventor in all these arts and excels in all; in his richness and variety he recalls Milton, Goethe, Kant and Voltaire. But thirty years ago there was not even a bare mention of Asvaghosa in the literary history of India. Asvaghosa is in the fullest sense a conquest of Western learning. It is superfluous to prolong the list; it affords with sufficient clearness a glimpse of all that India in the awakening of her consciousness owes to Europe. It shows—to the disadvantage of India certainly—to what perils is exposed a people that claims to hold itself aloof from the movements of universal civilisation.

But has India ever truly realised that conception of aloofness? Since the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni, after the year 1000 of the Christian era, facts give only too clear an answer. India, offered up as a prey to greed, to contention and rivalry on every side, is riveted to the history of Islam and the destinies of Europe. Again if we go back to the remote past, this mirage of isolation vanishes in the light of facts. The first ray that illumines the threshold of Indian history proceeds from a cuneiform text discovered in the neighbourhood of Armenia. The documents of Babylon and Persia help us next to cast a few gleams of light on the dense darkness of distant centuries. Then arises Greece and her radiant genius seems to bring a definite awakening to the world. Without her the history of India could be only enigma and confusion; by her, order and precision are brought into the history of India. The identity, recognised by William Jones, of the Indian Chandragupta and the Sandrocottos of the historians of Alexander, remains the cornerstone of all Indian chronology. During a period of a thousand years, the history of India is to a great extent the history of the knowledge possessed by the Greeks concerning India.

Reciprocal influences of civilisation.

From this prolonged contact we have the problem of reciprocal influences, which puts the question of the originality of the genius. Towards the beginning of the Christian era China, in her turn, comes into touch with India, and for a thousand years religious zeal, political and commercial relations draw the two coun-tries together. The exchange takes place along by two ways the land route which skirts or crosses the heights of the Pamir and, proceeding from oasis to oasis passes over the sandy deserts of Turkestan; the sea-route which by way of Insulindia, connects the Indian ports with the Chinese ports. The meeting of the two civilisations produces, on either side, a strange amalgamation: on the one hand "Surindia" as the Greeks said in the time of the Emperor Justinian, on the other hand Indo-China, as we say today, both being equivalent terms which point to the zone of un-stable balance between two rival tendencies, two rival languages and rival societies. In this concealed struggle India appears to triumph for a fairly long time. Recent explorations is Central Asia have revealed unexpected annexations to the Indian world; rather earlier, but also in recent times, study of monu-ments and inscriptions has brought to light the exis-tence of Hindu colonief in Indo-China and Insulindia faithful guardians of the arts, the religious and the literary works of India. Finally, in the seventh cen-tury Indian Buddhism conquers yet anothers field for Indian culture: in the highlands of Tibet a rude and barbarous population sees monasteries rise where zealous missionaries translate from the Sanskrit the enormous mass of the canonical texts.

The Civilisation of the Mind.

Thus from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Ocean, nations near and far gather round India and bring together converging rays to shine upon the voice less night of her past. The picture that emerges is not, to be sure, as clear and complete as we could wish; too often the documents say nothing or break off just at the moment when curiosity is on the track; too often, besides, the portions upon which light is thrown give us minute details which, by their seeming insignificance weary and discourage the student. However it is, thus is the work which I am pressing you to pursue, for the sake of truth and of your own country, Some people may tell you that it is an idle and useless work, and that the crying need of the

present is for chemists and engineers. I do not at all belittle their work in so far as it can make that painful human life easier and smoother. But we have been taught of late by a dreadful instance how much the most technical civilisation can be foreign to real civilisation, the civilisation of the mind. Never has the beautiful saying of Buddha proved so deeply true as now:

Manahpoorvamgamaa dharma manah sreshta manogamayaah.

"Mind takes the lead of the world; mind excels the whole world; the world is a creation of mind."

In this time of sky-scrapers and gigantic bridges, mind only can build and will build a safe bridge for India to cross over the ocean of darkness and storms and to reach that "other shore" of peace and dignity for which she has been longing through centuries. India wants you to be her "Tirthankaras; but how can you show her the way forward if you have not traced back the steps which have brought her to her present stage? You wish your motherland to stand honoured and respected among the nations but how tremendous the experimental stages you have to pass through. If you are not fully aware of the genuine forces which allowed her to play, long ago, such a big part in the development of Eastern civilisation? Old India, the mother of numberless children, who has passed through days of triumph and ages of sorrow, the over-rejuvenating mother of numberless children to come, as standing before you, anxious about her way. It is not enough to worship your mother. Help her!

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